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A CHAPTER
IN THE
HISTORY OF CLEVELAND
—
C. M. BURTON

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A CHAPTER

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The Western Reserve Historical Society:

One day in the summer of 1894, I obtained information that at a certain house on the Canadian side of the Detroit river, at a place, styled by the owner "Strabane," there was a quantity of letters and documents in the possession of one of the old families. At the earliest practicable moment, I visited the place and hastily examined such papers as the possessor was willing to permit me to see. Within a few days thereafter I again visited him and obtained permission to take a few of the papers with me to copy. Among these papers I found the Indian deed referred to in the following pages, and feeling that it might be of interest to your society I wrote to your late president, Judge C. C. Baldwin, of my find. *I received an immediate reply from Judge Baldwin, in which he stated that the existence of the deed had been suspected by him for many years, and that on one occasion he had gone to Montreal to see if he could find evidence of its existence, but that my letter had given him the first certain knowledge of its contents. I continued my visits to my Canadian neighbor for some time, and finally succeeded in purchasing from him all of his documents, and they are now in my possession. When my purchase was consummated, I again wrote to Judge Baldwin and he came to Detroit to make a personal examination of such of the papers as pertained to Cleveland. He was greatly pleased with what he saw, and at his request I prepared the following paper, which

contains the substance of that portion of these documents. The papers I obtained, however, do not relate exclusively, nor even very largely, in proportion to the whole, to this subject. They are the correspondence of a man largely interested in business and political affairs, and relate to the entire northern part of Ohio, Vincennes, Detroit, Mackinac, Upper Canada, the first parliament at Niagara, the Canadian election at Detroit before Jay's Treaty and other matters, and in all respects constitute the most valuable set of private letters I have ever seen. There are between 3,000 and 4,000 of them, and they extend from 1760 to the date of the death of their collector, in 1818. There are letters from Vigo, at Vincennes, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., William and Angus McIntosh, John Askin, Jr., Joseph Brant, Alexander Henry, Commodore Alexander Grant, John Anderson, nearly all of the Moravian preachers, Zeisberger, Heckenvelder, Senseman and others, Wm. Henry Harrison, Gov. Wm. Hull, Judge Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Major Ancrum, General England, Arent Schuyler DePeyster, Henry Bird, Isaac Todd, James and Andrew Magill, D. W. Smith, and many Indian deeds and other official documents. This collection is of so recent an acquisition that I have not yet had time to arrange and bind it, as I propose, but I have pretty thoroughly examined it. Regarding the portion incorporated in the annexed essay, I would say that, of course, I do not possess all the correspondence and papers written on that subject, but I hope that what I here produce will be added to by others who possess information on the same subject, until ultimately the entire transaction of this Indian purchase may be made a matter of written history, and that we may thus add a chapter to the story of Cleveland.

Respectfully yours,

C. M. BURTON.

DETROIT, February, 1895.

A CHAPTER

IN THE

HISTORY OF CLEVELAND.

Detroit, until the commencement of the present century, was the most important of all the Western posts in that great tract of territory which is comprehended under the titles of New France and Louisiana, Canada, and later under the name of the North-West Territory. It was the most important place west of Montreal, west of the Alleghanies. Cadillac, its founder, foresaw its commercial importance in 1701, and although, before coming to settle here, he had been in command of Mackinac, he knew that Detroit would soon outstrip that place in trade and population, and wrote to Pontchartrain (Minister under Louis XIV), that Michillimackinac (as Mackinac was then called), would be so completely deserted in a few years that the Jesuit priests there would have no one to bury them when they died, but that their bodies would be food for vultures and wolves.

Cadillac and the succeeding commandants were empowered to sell and convey lands about the post of Detroit, and they made many transfers of farms and village lots. The number and extent of these transfers have never been fully determined. Indeed, it was supposed that there were only a very few made under French rule, but my own investigations have recently unearthed some seventy-five deeds made by Cadillac alone, and further searches now being made by me, will, I believe, disclose several hundred, and perhaps form a complete record from Cadillac's day till the English conquest

in 1760. These early deeds were recorded by the Royal Notary, and his records were either kept as his private property, or sent to the home government in Paris to be buried in the rapidly accumulating and unassorted mass in the Foreign Department or Department of Marine.

When the British took possession of the country in 1760, the record of transfers was carried on in much the same manner as under French rule, except that the records were kept as the property of the public and not the private books of the notary. From 1760 until the formation of the County of Wayne in 1796, when the Western country was surrendered to the United States under the terms of Jay's treaty of 1794, these records in Detroit filled four or five volumes and were retained by the British when they retired from the post. A part of these records, but not all of them, were, a few years since, returned to Detroit and placed in the registry office, and of them I have a complete copy.

In the early part of the present century, and about the time of the destruction of the village of Detroit by the fire of 1805, the United States Commissioners on land claims opened an office in Detroit and recorded such evidences of title as the old French people brought for that purpose. There were six small volumes of these records, and some years ago I had an abstract made of them, but not a complete copy. The originals have disappeared, and I have so far been unable to get trace of them. These books contained the transactions, not only of Detroit, but of the surrounding country, including a large share of the Western Reserve, so called, and in that connection a few words respecting the Reserve may not be out of place. The Western Reserve has occupied a very peculiar situation in the political formation of the Old North-West and of Ohio. The charter of Connecticut was granted by Charles II., King of England, in 1662, and through it Connecticut claimed to have the right to possess, not only the present State of Connecticut, but a large portion of New

York and Pennsylvania, and she even maintained that her western boundary was the ocean, extending, as the charter reads, "From Narragansett Bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereto adjoining."

In 1781 New York released to the general government all the lands to which she had claim west of a meridian extending through the western extremity of Lake Ontario.* The western boundary line was surveyed in 1790 by Andrew Ellicott.†

The western line of Pennsylvania, agreed to in 1779 was fixed in 1784 by the report of commissioners appointed to establish the boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the line so fixed was confirmed by the cession of Connecticut in 1800.‡ This served also to determine the eastern boundary of Connecticut's western possessions, and when the United States called upon her to surrender those possessions, so that the government might make provisions for the payment of the Revolutionary War debt, and furnish homes for soldiers, Connecticut made the required transfer, reserving only that portion which is now termed The Western Reserve. This deed of cession is dated September 13, 1786.§ Of the Reserve 500,000 acres were set apart for the fire sufferers, intending by this designation to include those people, more particularly of New London, Norwalk, and Fairfield, Connecticut, who suffered from the depredations of the British during the Revolution, and the balance of the Reserve was disposed of to the Connecticut Land Co., for \$1,200,000, or something more than 40 cents an acre.

The jurisdiction of the Reserve remained vested in Connecticut, and the formation of the Territory North-West of the Ohio River by the United States in 1787, could not change the right of Connecticut to govern the Reserve by her laws, nor could the appointment of Arthur St. Clair as

*Boundaries of the United States, by Henry Gannett, United States Geological Survey, 1885. Bulletin 13, page 72.

†ib. 75.

‡ib. 80, and Hinsdale's Old Northwest, page 109.

§See Appendix.

Governor of the North-West Territory give him authority to control that portion of the new territory. Although the question of jurisdiction had never been raised, a hint that it might be, at any time, was thrown out by the introduction, by Mr. Livingston, on the 4th of January, 1796, in Congress, of a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate the title to these lands "lately claimed and sold by the State of Connecticut." Some influence was brought to bear upon Mr. Livingston, for a month later, and before any action had been taken by Congress, he withdrew the resolution with the explanation that the interests of individuals might suffer while the matter was pending before the House, and that under the circumstances he thought it better not to proceed with the resolution. Nearly three years after this, and on the last day of the year 1798, Uriah Tracy, senator from Connecticut, introduced a measure, which, after some alterations and a re-introduction in 1800, became a law in April of the latter year,* authorizing the President to transfer the legal title of the Reserve to the Governor of Connecticut, in order to confirm the title of the purchasers from the State, on condition that the State would relinquish all claim to jurisdiction over the Reserve to the United States. Thus for the first time, in the year 1800, the Western Reserve was a part and parcel of the Territory North-west of the Ohio River.

Meanwhile, however, another complication had arisen, for the proper investigation of which it will be necessary to retrace a few years of the time we have just passed over. At the close of the Revolutionary War, England was in possession of Detroit, Mackinaw, and all the other Western posts, and she agreed to surrender these to our government upon the execution of the final treaty of peace in 1783. One obstacle after another was placed in the way of the final execution of this part of the treaty, and it was not until thirteen years had elapsed—not until 1796—that these posts were finally

*This act is to be found in Annals of Congress for 1800, page 1495.

surrendered to our government. Upon possession being taken by the American troops, Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-West Territory under Arthur St. Clair, Governor, proceeded to Detroit, and on the 15th day of August, 1796, organized the County of Wayne, which included all of the northern part of Ohio west of the Cuyahoga River, all of Michigan, and a vast extent of other territory. In the absence of the Governor from the Territory, the duties of that officer devolved upon the Secretary as acting governor, and it was in this capacity, as acting governor, that Mr. Sargent, on that August day in 1796, undertook to organize the County of Wayne. It happened, however, that on the day preceding (August 14, 1796), the Governor, who had for some time been absent from the Territory, passed from Pittsburg into the North-West Territory, and thus the proclamation of Sargent, as acting governor, was a nullity. This feature of the case, while fully understood at the time by both parties, and pointed out and commented on by the Governor at that time, was not insisted on by him as being an illegal act and has been allowed to stand until age has given it validity.

To the student who puts himself back to the time of the happening of these events, it appears clearly, 1st, that the Western Reserve was not a portion of the North-West Territory until 1800, and 2nd, that the formation of the County of Wayne to include that portion of the Reserve west of the Cuyahoga River was invalid for two reasons, (1) because that land constituted a part of the Reserve and was not subject to the government of the North-West Territory, and (2) because the person who undertook to form that county, Winthrop Sargent, was not such officer as he pretended to be (acting governor), as the Governor, Arthur St. Clair, was within the boundary lines of the North-West Territory on the day the county was formed.

Overlooking these technical objections to the legality of the newly formed government, we find Detroit the county

seat, capital, and metropolis of this new county, which is larger in extent than the present States of Ohio and Michigan combined. Of this great county, Peter Audrain was appointed register, and he opened a set of books in which he recorded all the deeds and other documents that were brought to him. Mr. Audrain was not only register but he was also judge of the probate court, justice of the peace, general scrivener, an expert penman in both English and French, and his beautiful chirography, almost like print, abounds in the early records of our county. Here we find not only the deeds of Detroit and its immediate vicinity, but also of Michillimackinac, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Sandusky, and a part of Cleveland. I say of Cleveland, for, although at this time no such place as Cleveland existed, there are here several transfers of land in the northern part of Ohio, and one, at least, covering a large part of the present city of Cleveland.* Many of these early deeds are from the Indians, for, notwithstanding that both the French and British government, and afterward the United States, refused to recognize in the Indians any right to convey their lands to individuals, the inhabitants at Detroit continually obtained deeds from them and maintained, so far as they could, that their red brethren had a good title to the lands they occupied, and the British government in a few instances held these Indian conveyances to be valid, where it was quite evident that the deed was made with the approbation of the entire Indian tribe that was in possession of the premises granted. During the Revolutionary War there were many such Indian grants made and recorded in Detroit, and towards the end of the war, about 1780, when it began to look pretty blue for old England, these grants began to multiply with great rapidity. Nearly every citizen of Detroit was the donee of some considerable tract given to him by the Indians for the love and affection they bore him.

Some of these parcels were pretty large. Jonathan Shieffelin, the Indian agent, obtained a conveyance of seven

*These Cleveland deeds pertain to the part of the city on the left bank of the Cuyahoga only.

miles square (49 square miles) including the present city of Amherstburg, Canada, and at nearly the same time our commandant, Arent Schuyler DePeyster, got a donation of some five miles square on the River St. Clair. These grants were not recognized as valid by our government, but where the grantee was in actual possession of the soil and retained it until after Jay's Treaty took effect, the possession was recognized as creating in him a good title which our government confirmed. All of the lands given by the Indians were upon the large streams or on the great lakes. No lands were granted back in the country, and everything, except along the margin of the lakes and rivers, was as wild and devoid of evidences of white man's supremacy in 1796 as when LaSalle, Hennepin, Marquette, Dollier, and Dablon first visited the country.

Various schemes were proposed and attempted to be carried out by residents of Detroit, Montreal, and the Eastern States, to obtain a valid title to great tracts of this wild, and apparently worthless, land. One scheme, which came near being a success, and which also came near proving one of the greatest scandals of our early Congressional history, was the attempt to purchase the entire lower peninsula of Michigan, consisting of about 20,000,000 acres, for the insignificant sum of half a million dollars. It was expected that the purchasers, after having paid the five hundred thousand dollars to the government, would themselves see to the removal of the Indians and would obtain a release of their claims. Members of Congress were approached on the subject and their influence solicited upon the basis of an interest in the venture, if it passed, but Mr. William Smith, a member from South Carolina, either from honesty or temerity, from his seat in Congress made the affair public, on the 28th of December, 1795. An investigation followed, more for the purpose, probably, of determining the members innocent than of discovering any guilty parties. Two men, Randall and Whitney,



neither of them members of Congress, were imprisoned for a few days by order of the House, and the matter dropped, to be thought of again only when it was dug up for historical investigation. I examined this subject pretty thoroughly, and wrote up the results of my examination in the *Inlander** in the spring of 1892, and I think the volume of the *Inlander* containing the article is in the library of your society.

One of the Detroit men interested in this proposed purchase was John Askin, Sr., and, as we will have something further to say regarding Mr. Askin, a short sketch of his life, from materials furnished by his grandson, Alexander Henry Askin, may be of interest. John Askin, Sr., was born at Auchnacloy, a small place in the north of Ireland, in the year 1739. He came to New York in 1758, and for some months was engaged in that city and in Albany keeping a "shop," as he termed it; that is, in dealing in every sort of commodity for which he could find a purchaser. It is said that he was a volunteer in the British army at the first attempt to take Ticonderoga, and about this time fell in with Major Robert Rogers, whom Parkman considers as one of the most successful and intrepid leaders of the American scouts. Askin's tastes led him more to trade than war, and he subsequently formed a partnership with Rogers in trading at Albany. The venture was not a success, and Rogers, who had no real worth, except that he was a good scout, ran away, "went beyond seas," as his creditors said, and left the payment of the debts of the unfortunate venture on Askin's shoulders. Mr. Askin obtained an extension of time from his creditors and paid them in full. He went to Michillimackinac in 1764 and engaged in the Indian trade. He intended to make Detroit his home, but the breaking out of the Revolutionary War prevented his coming here to stay. He came to Detroit to reside permanently about 1780, and carried on trade of all kinds on a large scale. When the Revolution came to an end, he could not bear the thought of becoming a citizen of the

*A monthly magazine published by the students at the University of Michigan.

new republic, and in order to retain his citizenship as a British subject he removed to the eastern side of the Detroit River. He did not remove, however, until long after the new government had taken actual possession of Detroit. He did not remove until 1802, after he had been appointed village trustee of the town of Detroit by the Legislature which met at Chillicothe in 1802, and had refused to serve in that capacity. He foresaw the great value that would one day come to the fertile lands of the Northwest, and attempted to obtain title to as much of this territory as possible. His attempt to buy the lower peninsula of Michigan, is only one of the many land schemes in which he had an interest.

He purchased from the occupants and settlers in the vicinity of Detroit, on both sides of the river, thousands of acres in small detached parcels, and proved his rights before the land commissioners. He succeeded in maintaining his claim to some of these lands, but many of them he lost. In company with Major Ancrum, of Detroit, he purchased the interests of the Moravian Indians in their possessions at the River Huron of Lake Ste. Claire, and then obtained of the Chippewa Indians their claim, and set up title to twenty-four thousand acres of land at that spot. In company with John Askwith, John Dodemede, Patrick McNiff, William Forsith, Jr., Robert McNiff, and John Kinzie, he obtained the Indian title to nearly a million acres on the Miami River,* including the present city of Toledo and extending to, and including the Sandusky peninsula. But the scheme that most greatly interests us at the present time is the attempt of Mr. Askin and his partners to take and hold as their private property, not only a large part of the land covered by the present city of Cleveland, but nearly all the land situated along the south shore of Lake Erie, and extending nearly to Sandusky. His entire claims in the northern part of Ohio aggregated 5,294,120 acres, and some idea can be gained of the extent of the Territory so claimed, by remembering that the entire Western

*This river is now called the Maumee.

Reserve does not contain 3,500,000 acres. A part of this land of Askin's is included in the Reserve.

The parties in interest in the Cuyahoga Purchase, as this scheme was called, were John Askin, Sr., John Askin, Jr., merchants, Patrick McNiff, surveyor, John Askwith, notary public, Israel Ruland, silversmith, all of Detroit, and Alexander Henry, of Montreal, merchant. McNiff, Askwith, and Ruland were men of considerable local importance at Detroit. John Askin, Jr., lived in various places, as at Mackinac, St. Joseph, Detroit, and Amherstburg, engaged in trade and acting as an Indian interpreter; he was well educated and his letters to his father, many of which I have, are couched in an affectionate tone and written in the studied and beautiful chirography of the last century that makes their reading a pleasure. Alexander Henry was a prominent merchant of Montreal, and did not, at this time, wield less power in the fur markets of the world than did our own John Jacob Astor, and indeed in many of their fur-buying and market-manipulating schemes they were partners. He is better known to us, however, as the author of "Henry's Travels" and as one of the very few persons who escaped from the general massacre at Michillimackinac, as is vividly pictured by Francis Parkman in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac." There was subsequently admitted into this partnership John Dodemede and William Robertson, Askwith having died shortly after its formation.

Very nearly a complete record of this transaction has recently fallen into my hands, and from these records and the ancient, weatherbeaten, and mouse-eaten letters and documents that I have collected on the same subject, I am able to give the following details regarding this matter:

Alexander Henry, John Askin, and John Askin, Jr., had been jointly interested in the purchase of other lands, in smaller tracts, from the Indians for some time, and they now associated the other partners with them in this enterprise, as they felt the need of their assistance. On the 18th of Jan-

uary, 1796, the parties above named, Henry, the two Askins, McNiff, Askwith, and Ruland, purchased from the Indians the tract which I have referred to, and obtained a deed signed by twenty-nine of their principal chiefs.* The land is described, according to the opinion of Alexander Hamilton, hereinafter referred to, as located in Upper Canada, although the date of the conveyance places the transaction an entire year after the signing of Jay's Treaty, and the grantees named in the deed certainly knew that their new purchase fell within the newly established lines of the United States. After having obtained their deed, the efforts of all parties were turned to maintaining their title, and getting it confirmed by our government if possible. They evidently did not, at this time, know that Connecticut had or claimed any right in the premises, as there is very little reference to that State in their correspondence.

The various Indian tribes of the north and west had been requested to meet Gen. Anthony Wayne (Mad Anthony), as the representative of the United States, at Greenville on the 16th of June, 1795, for the purpose of making a treaty of peace, and to this treaty meeting, Messrs. McNiff, Askwith, and Ruland were sent for the purpose of looking after this land, and in order to get the Indian grant accepted by the government if possible. If it should be found impossible to get the matter before the meeting in a favorable manner, then all parties were to attempt to get certain rights conceded by our government to the Indians, as the right of tribal ownership of the lands they occupied, the right of repelling further advances of the Americans on these tribal possessions, and the right of conveying these lands to whoever the tribes thought fit, upon receiving sufficient compensation. It appears that the Indians from Detroit did not set off for Greenville until about the first of July, and they were then accompanied by John Askin, Jr., who understood their language perfectly, and whom they requested to accompany them in order to assist them in protecting their rights.

*For copy of this deed, see Appendix.

The fatherly letter of instruction of the senior Askin, on the departure of his son, urged him to see that, by the proposed treaty, the Indians remained sole masters of their lands, with the right to dispose of them as they wished, and the right to confirm such sales as they have already made. "This," he says, "will secure, in my opinion, a lasting peace between the Indians and the States, which I apprehend will never be the case should the States lay a claim to the Indian lands, or force them to a sale, for when what they get is expended, and their successors in want, they will probably have recourse to violent means, though they should not succeed." It was thus the duty of the younger Askin, not only to look after the interest of the syndicate in the convention, but also to see that the Indians were not imposed upon, either by the men representing the government, or others who might be attracted there by the prospect of plunder.

It was from Detroit, as the centre of the intrigue, that the strings were pulled to set the figures in motion. McNiff, Ruland, and Askwith had been sent in advance to Fort Greenville, John Askin, Jr., had, later, been dispatched with the Indians, and now John Askin, Sr., urged Alexander Henry to hasten to Philadelphia, then the seat of the Federal Government, to obtain the confirmation of their deed from Congress, and he adds, "I hope you have not lost any time to get there. If we should be so fortunate as to get the lands confirmed we will be once more on our legs, I mean myself. Indeed I have the greatest doubt in the world that the Americans and Indians, even jointly, can take these lands from us."

The younger Askin had left Detroit on the 2nd of July with a detachment of chiefs of the Chippewa Indians. He reached Fort Defiance on the 11th, where he received a cool reception from Major Thomas Hunt, who was there in charge. On the 19th they reached Fort Adams, on the 20th Fort

Recovery, and the next day, July 21st, 1795, they arrived at Fort Greenville,* and found the various Indian tribes and the representatives of the United States already in session. General Wayne had intercepted some letters directed to Askin, and from his knowledge of their contents deemed Askin an unsafe person to be associated with the Indians at this particular time, and so ordered his arrest and confinement in Fort Jefferson,* and would not permit him to have intercourse with any one, either in person or by letter. He was kept in confinement until, at the special intercession of the Indians, he was set at liberty and dined with General Wayne on the 8th of August, but by this time the treaty was over and the Indians had dispersed for their homeward journey. Askin's trip was an entire failure. He had not been permitted to take any part in the deliberations, and the object he had in accompanying the Indians is not mentioned in the official report of the proceedings of the treaty.

The treaty of peace which was finally concluded between the United States and the Indians provided, among other things, that the eastern boundary line of the Indian lands should be the Cuyahoga River;† that all the lands east of that river should be the property of the General Government, to be disposed of as Congress might direct; that the Indians should retain the exclusive ownership and control of the lands west of that river (except certain military posts), and if the Indians wished to dispose of any of these lands they could sell them to the United States and to no other person.

Meanwhile Henry proceeded to New York, where he received letters from his confederates showing that they had failed to accomplish anything at the Indian treaty. Feeling now in great doubt about the ultimate success of the enterprise, he submitted the deeds to Alexander Hamilton for his inspection and opinion. Mr. Hamilton's opinion did not

*Fort Greenville was built at the place still called Greenville, ninety-two miles west of Columbus.

Fort Jefferson was five miles south of Greenville.

Fort Recovery is in Darke county, and is the name of a modern village.

Fort Defiance is in Defiance county, on the Maumee, now called Defiance.

Fort Industry is site of present Toledo.

†The Cuyahoga was the line for only a limited distance. The line crossed the portage on which Akron stands and then took to the Southern waters.

tend to reassure him, as he declared the deed to be invalid for several reasons: First, the premises were described as being situated in Upper Canada, and could not therefore be in the United States; second, it was a deed of gift, and the Indians could not alienate lands in that way; and thirdly, no lands could be purchased from the Indians except with leave of the President. Robert Morris was also consulted in the matter, but he declined to take an interest in it because the matter had not been brought before the treaty. Almost in despair lest their enterprise should turn to be a total failure, the confederates tried to keep the Indians in good nature so that they would not repudiate their deed. They opened a formal account with the Cuyahoga Purchase, where they entered the accounts of all the items for goods given to the Indians, and all other expenses. They held a council with the Indians on the 2nd of May, 1796, and harangued them on the subject of this purchase and on the great love which they bore to their red brothers, and, so far as the Indians themselves went, it seemed as if the title would not be contested. New deeds were obtained for some of the lands, in order, if possible, to strengthen those already obtained. Whether it was required, it certainly was deemed necessary to obtain the signatures to these deeds when the Indians were sober. We find frequent references to this sobriety in the deeds, and when these new deeds were to be executed, which was on the 30th of May, 1796, McNiff wrote the following note to Mr. Askin:

“SIR:—The Little Otter, with other chiefs and warriors, twenty in number, are now at my house waiting for Mr. Ruland, in order to put the finishing hand to all their conveyances. They are all perfectly sober, the chiefs request a little rum for themselves and young while waiting for Ruland. You will please send two bottles and charge it to the company's account, but not to the Cuyahoga.”

The Askins, Ruland, and Henry, were not the only persons who claimed to hold lands by these precarious Indian titles. The plan of purchasing from the Indians had been

going on for some time and there were many interested parties. President Washington was very industrious in circulating letters of advice among the Indians urging them not to make any more deeds to individuals. Every string that the purchasers could pull was pulled. Congress was petitioned, and was even attempted to be bribed. Not only were Alexander Hamilton and Robert Morris approached on the subject, but the matter was laid before the best legal minds of the country for their advice. Brockholst Livingston, then of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but one of the foremost lawyers of New York, wrote a long letter of advice on the subject suggesting: 1st. That the owners, who claimed to be British subjects at the surrender of Detroit in 1796, make application as British subjects through the British minister to the President. 2nd. That they apply to Congress for a confirmation of the title. 3rd. That they settle on the land and then submit the matter to a judicial decision before a court of the United States. The third plan Mr. Livingston thought would be the best, though attended with some risk to the settlers. "I think," he writes, "Congress had no right to say that the Indians shall grant no lands without their permission. They have acknowledged them as independent nations. They make treaties and settle boundary lines with them as such; it is, therefore, interfering with their sovereignty to declare that they shall not grant their own lands."

Acting under this advice John Askin, Jr., was sent to take actual possession of the tract, and he built or occupied a hut on the west side of the Cuyahoga River a little back of where it emptied into the lake.* Here young Askin resided

*The writer is speaking of the family of James Kingsbury, an adventurer on his own account; it is the spring of 1797.

"When the surveyors under Mr. Pease returned to their work in the spring, the family came with them to Cleveland, as their permanent home. On the west side of the river, at a point which cannot now be fixed with certainty, but probably near where Centre and Main streets cross, there was a dilapidated house. The old settlers think it was erected by the French, but it was more probably done by the English, who were here soon after the peace of 1763. It was a better building than the French were in the habit of putting up in such remote places. It had been a comfortable and capacious log storehouse. Very likely the French had built a cabin near the mouth of the river, which had disappeared."—Whittlesey's History of Cleveland, page 226.

There is a letter in possession of the Western Reserve Historical Society from Alexander Henry to Oliver Phelps and Henry Champion, Directors of the Connecticut Land Co., dated April 1, 1797, giving notice to the Company of the claim of title by Askin and his partners, and stating that Mr. John Askin and his family now reside on this tract at the River Cuyahoga, in order to secure possession.

with his family for some time; Askwith died, as we have seen, leaving a badly encumbered estate, and other shares in the enterprise changed hands so that Ebenezer Allen, Isaac Todd and James McGill came to have interests. Henry refused to spend any more money to advance the project, and in December, 1798, Askin proposed to reimburse him for his outlay on his conveying his interest to other parties, but, desperate as the situation was, Askin advised him not to sell out, but to advance his portion of the expenses and take his chances with the others. The next year a new character appeared on the scene in the person of the Connecticut Land Company. The Connecticut Land Company were anxious to remove any question regarding their ownership of the Reserve, which they were already surveying, dividing into lots, and placing on the market, and they wished to extinguish the Indian title, so that purchasers would feel secure from molestation, and so that the Indians might be removed from these lands. They appointed Samuel Huntington, afterwards the second Governor of Ohio, to go west and ascertain the most practicable method of attaining the ends sought for. I have been unable to find any evidence that Governor Huntington visited the Reserve earlier than 1801, but two years prior to that date he came to Detroit and attempted to see Mr. McNiff on this subject. It is very probable that he was not over anxious to see any of the parties to the syndicate, for, not being able to see McNiff, he wrote a letter to the elder Askin regretting that the short time at his disposal did not permit him to make a call, and stating that his object in visiting the West was to be able to point out to the Company the best way to extinguish the Indian title. If Governor Huntington had been very anxious to see Mr. Askin, the visit would have taken but a few moments, as at this time Mr. Askin either lived within the city pickets, not more than five minutes walk from any side, or else he lived directly fronting the common on the east, a distance of three or four

short blocks. It is more probable that the Governor's visit was among the Indians themselves, and that its object had been accomplished, and he was now on his return home and did not care to see Mr. Askin.

Ebenezer Allen was more of a schemer than the others, and having removed sometime before this to the River Tranche, or Thames of the present day, he proposed, in 1800, that all parties convey the land to Capt. Joseph Brant, a chief of the Six Nations, and the most influential Indian in the North-West. Brant was to put them in possession of the tract, and give them security to reconvey the premises to them when the proper time came. A man by the name of Augustus Jones was the person who acted as go-between with Brant, and he succeeded in getting Brant to agree to meet the Indian chiefs at Detroit about the first of May, 1801, for the purpose of considering the matter. There is no doubt that Brant was a very skillful diplomat for an Indian, and he refused to commit himself to the project. The intention was that, if the sale to Brant was carried out, the share of McGill, Henry, and the two Askins would pass to Brant and his Indians and they would become partners with Allen and Ruland. This plan was a failure, and seems to have entirely discouraged all parties, for I find no other efforts made looking towards making an actual sale to the Land Company or any other negotiations had by the parties for several years. Their private correspondence during this period, which I have, makes no mention of these lands. The Connecticut Land Company were going forward with their surveys and selling their lands, but as yet the Indian claim to that part west of the Cuyahoga River had not been extinguished. In September, 1804, William Dean proposed to the Fire Lands Co.* to obtain a release of the Indian title for \$20,000, and his proposition was accepted.

Of course these proceedings were entirely unknown to the Detroit parties, but the efforts of Dean to perform his

*The full name of this company was The Proprietors of the Half Million Acres of Land lying south of Lake Erie called Sufferers' Land.

part of the contract soon became known to them, and early in the year 1805 the hopes of the proprietors were again raised by a circumstance which is best told by one of the letters of the senior Askin: "I now begin to hope that all the money I laid out in Indian lands is not lost. The United States has given to the people of New London the pre-emption right of a large tract, say 500,000 acres, in consideration of what they suffered by fire in the late troubles. This tract I, jointly with several others, purchased of the Indians, and in which tract Mr. Todd and you (James McGill) hold an equal share with me. A Mr. Dean is arrived at Detroit some time ago, one of several commissioners employed by the inhabitants of New London to purchase the native right, but he finds that the Indians have sold it to me and others; he therefore has told Mr. Brush that he will pay ten thousand dollars if we will get them, the Indians, to sign a deed to their company and pay the expenses; this is not more than about two sols the acre, and as the government of the United States has nothing to do in this business without our concurrence and assistance, the inhabitants of New London will never be able to prevail on the Indians to sell to them a second time, for what with our own influence, joined with that of Captain McKee, we mean to prevent the Indian chiefs ever meeting them in council, unless they give us what's fair, and then at our expense (out of what we receive) we mean to make a large present and get the nation to whom the lands belong to agree to a transfer from us to the purchasers, or to give them a new grant. The lawyers say we now have an opportunity of getting something handsome, as the offer is between individual and individual and the United States cannot interfere."

The reply to this letter urged Askin not to be too extravagant in his demands, "as that may prevent any arrangement, and it's better not to lose the opportunity of getting something." Major Dean departed from Detroit without calling

upon Mr. Askin, and the latter said he thought Mr. Dean had neither money nor letters of credit, and he even doubted whether he was one of the commissioners as he claimed to be; even the offer of a thousand dollars for a deed of surrender would have been accepted by the proprietors.

There was an attempt made to hold an Indian council and make a treaty at Cuyahoga in 1805, but Askin, with the aid of Capt. Alexander McKee, his son-in-law, an Indian interpreter, succeeded in prevailing on the most influential chiefs not to visit the treaty council, and the representatives of the Reserve were compelled to call a new council, to be held at Swan Creek, and to this the Indians agreed that Mr. Elijah Brush, a Detroit lawyer, and also a son-in-law of Mr. Askin, should go, nominally as the agent of the Indians, but in reality to look out for the interests of Cuyahoga Purchase.

This treaty council was held on July 4, 1805, at Fort Industry (the present site of Toledo), and by its terms the Indians surrendered all title to lands within the Reserve. At the same time they made a formal transfer to the Connecticut Land Company, and to the Proprietors of the half million acres of land lying south of Lake Erie called Sufferers' Land, of all of the lands claimed by them, thus making a transfer of the lands they had formerly conveyed to Askin and his partners, and thus finally extinguishing their last hopes of obtaining anything from the Cuyahoga Purchase.

The United States Commissioner on this occasion was Charles Jouett, a son-in-law of Dodemede, and the representative of the Connecticut Land Co. was Henry Champion, while Isaac Mills represented the Fire Lands Co. In Askin's diary I find the following as the final entries regarding this matter:

“Tuesday, June 18, 1805. Mr. Brush and Mr. Smith, the interpreter, came here and dined, consulted on the Indian matter. Received a letter and answered it, from Major Deane.

"Wednesday, June 19. John (his son) came from Malden and went over the river (to Detroit) with Charles (another son) to meet the Little Otter. The Little Otter and many other chiefs assembled with Mr. Brush and Jonny at my house and held a council. They dined, I made them a present, and they went away.

"Thursday, June 20. Went to Capt. McKee's to meet the Indians, and dined there.

"Friday, June 21. Sent James (son) with papers and letters for Mr. Brush at Capt. McKee's; also Tom (a negro slave) to go to the foot of the rapids with Mr. Brush. Tom returned; also James. Mr. Brush got Capt. McKee's Harry to go with him and went with the Indian chiefs and Mr. Curry to Swan Creek.

"Wednesday, July 3. James went over the river and came back at night and said that Mr. Curry had come from the council and told him that all was settled and that the land purchasers were to pay \$33,000.

"Monday, July 8. Received a letter from Mr. Brush saying that he came home yesterday.

"Saturday, July 13. Mr. Brush called and told me what he had done in the Cuyahoga Purchase and showed amount of expenses."

Mr. Brush's report of the result of the treaty is short and pointed and a fitting finale to the entire transaction. It is as follows:

"DETROIT, 8 July, 1805.

DEAR SIR:—I arrived here last evening exhausted with fatigue from the disagreeable ————— to Swan Creek, the particulars of which I have not time now to relate, but the first leisure moment I shall go over and see you. I have not, however, succeeded so well as I had reason some days before I left there to expect, owing entirely to the invincible opposition I met with from Jouett, who behaved more like a savage than a Christian. I have, however, brought 600 dollars, which is all that could be had. I send Joe over on purpose to beg some celery plants from Mrs. Askin, as many as she can well spare, which I will set out this evening.

Adieu, God bless you.

E. BRUSH.

JOHN ASKIN, Esq."

Grand River, Aug 30 1800

Sir,

It is a considerable time since I first was made acquainted with the land affairs you are engaged in. Lately you more fully informed me yourself in a conversation we had together that I have taken it into consideration, before I can with any propriety engage in it. I think it necessary that we should be fully acquainted with the conditions of your agreement for which purpose Mr Lewis, now sets off for your quarter and I hope you will please to give him every necessary information— when he returns, and I have an explanation of the business I shall let you hear of our determination, but as I have

Mr John Ashin, Sen.



This Indenture, made the Eighteenth day of January and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Six, between John Askin, Esquire, William Robertson, Esquire, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff, all of Detroit, and Alexander Henry of Montreal, of the one part, and the Chiefs and leaders of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Messasague Nations of Indians of the other part, Witnesseth, that We, the said Chiefs and principal leaders of the said Nations of Indians, for ourselves and by and with the Consent and advice of the whole of our said Nations or Tribes, in consideration of the Sum of five Shillings, Halifax Currency, to us in hand paid by the said John Askin, Esquire, William Robertson, Esquire, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged), and for other good causes and considerations, Us, the said Chiefs and principal leaders of the said Nations or Tribes of Indians hereunto especially moving, have bargained and Sold, and by these presents do and each of us doth bargain and Sell unto the said John Askin, William Robertson, Isreal Ruland, John Askin, Junior, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their Executors, Administrators and Assigns, all that Capital, Messuage, or certain Tract of Land Situated, lying and being on the Southerly shore of Lake Erie, and bounded as follows, to wit: Commencing at the entrance of the Cayahoga River into Lake Erie and thence running up the westerly bank of said river to the portage or Carrying place between that River and the Tuscarrawas branch of the Muskingum river; thence down that branch to the Crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence Westerly on the division Line between the Indian Lands and the land given and granted by the different Indian Nations to the States of America, August, 1795, such a distance untill it Intersect a line run due South from the Entrance of Sandusky Lake; thence due North on that Line to the Entrance of Sandusky Lake; thence Easterly

along the Southerly Shore of Lake Erie untill the Entrance of Cayahoga River, aforesaid, or place of commencement, be the distance, quantity of Miles or Acres, more or less; always reserving out of said Tract of land Six Miles Square at and near the Entrance of Huron River, which we formerly granted to Gabriel Ganeau, and three small farms granted to different persons on the Southerly side of Sandusky Lake, which said Tract of Land and every part thereof, together with all Meadows, Pastures, Feedings, Commons, Woods, Ways, Waters, Water Courses, Fishings, Mines, Minerals, Quarrys, Profits, Privileges, Easements, Commodities, Advantages, Emoluments, Hereditaments, and Appurtenances, whatsoever, to the said Capital or Messuage or Tract of Land belonging, or with the same used or enjoyed or accepted, reputed, taken or known as part, parcel or member thereof, or as belonging to the same or any part thereof. To Have and to hold the said Capital, Messuage or Tract of Land, hereditaments and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore mentioned or Intended to be bargained and Sold, and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their Rights, Members and appurtenances, unto the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their Executors, Administrators and assigns, from the day of the date of these presents—for and during and untill the full end and Term of Nine hundred and Ninety-Nine Years from the date hereof to be Completed and ended: They, the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, Yeilding and paying us, the aforesaid Chiefs and principal leaders of the Indian Nations, Ottawas, Chippewas and Messasagues, aforesaid, the Yearly Rent of five Shillings, Halifax Currency, at the expiration of every Year, to be Computed from the date hereof, if the same shall be Lawfully demanded of them, their Heirs and assigns. To the Intent and purpose that by Virtue of these presents and of

1810

the statute for Transferring uses into Possession, the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, may be in actual possession of the premises, and be thereby enabled to receive and accept of a Grant and release of the freehold, reversion and Inheritance of the same premises and of every part and parcel thereof to them, their heirs and assigns, to the uses and upon the trusts, thereof, to be declared by another Indenture Intended to bear date the day after the date hereof, or on some other future day: In Witness whereof the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, unto these presents their hands and Seals have Subscribed and set, and We the said Chiefs and principal leaders of the said Nations have also unto these presents set our Seals and the marks of our respective Tribes, the day and Year first above.

In the presence of the Subscribing Notary and Witnesses, the chiefs and the principal leaders of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Messasagues Nations of Indians, did to this Indenture set their Seals and the marks of their respective Tribes, and delivered the same as their act and Deed to the party Concerned, the same being first Read and fully Explained to them by a proper Interpreter, they, the said Chiefs, being then perfectly sober.

<p>A Sketch of the Land Specified and described in this Indenture is drawn on the opposite page, which the said Chiefs acknowledge to be Just, and to which they have also set their Seals and marks of their respective Tribes as a farther confirmation of their perfect knowledge of the Intent and meaning of this Indenture.</p>	}	<p>Maygoneayum Sakakquai Nigauchiway Michiwassee Waibijay Caugeskoway and Kekaumegoush and Assogua Nigonchiway</p>
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John Askin
 William Robertson
 John Askin, Junior
 Israel Ruland
 John Dodemead
 P. McNiff
 John Askin for
 Alexander Henry.

Sowewance
 Sagemay
 Kakigemigo (or Little Otter)
 Kiwaigewain
 Assogoua
 Agowa
 Shakquan and
 Keyshike and Waynouse
 John Metowon
 Waukesoue
 Achoeshickique
 Nawtewans
 Assogouie
 Satoundach
 Edachien
 Kishainene or God dam
 Achaeskichique
 Egawaynique
 Nebenaquam
 Nigouchiway
 Waybokeshik
 Mishaboskisagone
 Nautewain
 Shoukwam and
 Wousakeshek

F. D. BELLECOUR,
Notaire.
 ALEXIS MAISONVILLE.
 BTE. SANS CRAINT, Interprete.
 D. ST. COSME, }
 TENOIT. }

Know all men by these presents, that we, the chiefs and principal leaders of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Messasagues Nations of Indians now at Detroit, for ourselves and by and with the consent and advice of the whole of our said nations or tribes, in consideration of the good will—and affection, which we and the whole of us, of the said nations have and bear to our friends, John Askin, Esquire, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead and Patrick McNiff, all of Detroit, and Alexander Henry of Montreal, as also for divers other good causes and considerations, Us, the said chiefs and the whole of our said nations hereunto especially moving, have given, granted, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant,

alien, enfeoff and confirm unto them, the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Isreal Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their heirs and assigns, forever, all that capital, messuage or tract of land, situated, lying and being on the southerly side of Lake Erie, and bounded as follows, to wit: Commencing at the entrance of the Cayahoga River into Lake Erie, and running up the westerly bank of said river to the portage or carrying place between said river and the Inscarramas, branch of the Muskingum River; thence down said branch to the carrying or crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly on the division line between the Indian lands and the lands ceded by the different Indian nations to the States of America by the treaty of Fort Greenville in August, 1795, such a distance on that line until it intersects a line run due south from the entrance of Sandusky Lake; thence due north on that line to the entrance of Sandusky Lake; thence easterly along the southern shore of Lake Erie until the entrance—Cayahoga River, or place of commencement, be the distance or number of miles or quantity of acres more or less, always reserving out of the tract of land hereby and herein aliened and conveyed or intended to be aliened and conveyed, a certain space or piece of land six miles square at and near the entrance of the River Huron, which piece of land, we, the said chiefs, did formerly grant to Gabriel Ganeau. Also three small farms granted on the southerly side of Sandusky Lake to different persons, should the same come within the limits of the tract of land hereby given, granted and conveyed, with all and singular the woods, ways, waters, water courses, fishings, privileges, profits, easements, commodities, advantages, emoluments, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever, unto the said capital, messuage or tract of land belonging or appertaining, or with the same used, or enjoyed, or accepted, reputed or known, as part, parcel or member thereof, or as belonging to the same or any part thereof, with all mines, minerals and quarries therein or

thereon contained. To have and to hold the said capital, messuage or tract of land, hereditaments and all and singular the premises hereinbefore mentioned, aliened and conveyed, or intended to be aliened and conveyed, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, unto the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff, and Alexander Henry, their heirs and assigns, forever, to the only proper use and behoof of them, the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their heirs and assigns, forever. And we, the said chiefs, for ourselves and on behalf of the whole of our said nations, do covenant, promise and grant to and with the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their heirs and assigns, by these presents, that they the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, their heirs and assigns, shall and lawfully may, from henceforth and forever after, peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy, the said tract of land hereby given and granted or mentioned or intended to be given, with every part and parcel thereof, free, clear and discharged, or well and sufficiently saved, kept harmless and indemnified of, from and against all former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, jointures, feoffments, dowers, estates, entails, rents, rent-charges, arrearages of rents, statutes, judgements, recognizances, statutes merchant and of the staple extents and of, from and against all former and other titles, troubles, charges and incumbrances, whatsoever, had, done or suffered, or to be had, done or suffered, by Us, the said chiefs, or any one whatsoever of our said nations, our heirs, executors, administrators, or any other person or persons, whatsoever, lawfully claiming or to claim, by, from or under Us, or any or either of us, or any of our said nations.

And by these presents do make this our deed and gift, irrevocable under any pretence, whatsoever, and have put them, the said John Askin, William Robertson, John Askin, Junior, Israel Ruland, John Dodemead, Patrick McNiff and Alexander Henry, in full possession and seisin of the premises, by delivering them a piece of said land. In witness whereof, we, the said chiefs, for ourselves and on behalf of the whole of our said nations, have unto these presents set our seals and the marks of our respective nations or tribes, at Detroit, the nineteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

In the presence of the subscribing notary and witnesses, the chiefs and principal leaders of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Mes-sasagues nations of Indians, did to this indenture set their seals and the marks of their respective tribes and delivered the same as their act and deed to the party concerned, the same being first read and fully explained to them by a proper interpreter, they, the said chiefs, being then perfectly sober.

Nigauckeway	Assogona	Achaikichique
Michiwasse	Agona	Agawaymgue
Waybijay	Mishaboskisagone	Osouwanu
	or Little Otter	Endashien
Kakeginigo, or	Kenaigewain	Keshainene, or
Sakakquae	Keyarvise	God Damn
Nateway, or	Shoyuame and	Saugemay
		Evasakishek
Toundash	Shaumindocoan	Ockasonand
Cawgeskowan and	Nabenaguam	Shayuagand
Gebaumegous	Evanouse	Nezaundqua
Cashake and	Wabekahek	Namtemans

F. D. BELLECOUR, *Notarie.*
 ALEXIS MAISONVILLE,
 BTE. SANS CRANTE, Interpreter.
 D. ST. COSME, }
 TEMOINT. }

